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THE HISTORY
OF THE
SARBADĀR DYNASTY
1336-1381 A.D.
AND ITS SOURCES

by

JOHN MASSON SMITH, JR.

1970

MOUTON

THE HAGUE • PARIS

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FOR MY WIFE GRACE

PREFACE

This Sarbadār history was begun in the spring of 1962, when G. C. Miles of the American Numismatic Society made available to me a hoard of Sarbadār coins recently acquired by the Society. I had for some time been studying the later *Ilkhānid* and post-Mongol dynasties of fourteenth-century Iran, but until then had paid little attention to the remote and obscure Sarbadārs. But since a significant number of Sarbadār coins and F. Tauer's recent edition of *Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's* texts on the Sarbadārs could now be used to supplement more familiar sources such as Ibn Baṭūṭa and *Mīrkhwānd*, I decided to begin my work with a treatment of the Sarbadārs. In January, 1964, this study was submitted as a doctoral dissertation to Columbia University. The substance of the dissertation is largely retained in this book, which has benefited by the criticisms and suggestions of my dissertation committee, especially D. M. Dunlop, T. Halasi-Kun, and G. C. Miles.

This work has had other antecedents as well. My interest in numismatics as an historical source was awakened by S. Dow and R. N. Frye at Harvard. I have been guided and encouraged in the study of Islamic history by T. Halasi-Kun and J. C. Hurewitz (to name only two of many) at Columbia University. And I was trained in the uses of Islamic numismatics by the staff of the American Numismatic Society and in particular by G. C. Miles, who further helped to direct my attention to fourteenth-century Iran.

The Ford Foundation long supported me as a student, and enabled me to travel to the Middle East for research. My work in the Middle East was made possible, and this book has directly profited by the willing cooperation of Farraj Basmaji and Adiba Qasim al-'Ani of the Iraqi Museum in Baghdad; of Malekzade Bayani of the Iran Bastan Museum in Tehran; and of İbrahim and Cevriye Artuk of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, as well as of many other members of the staffs of

these institutions. Ch. A. Azami of Tehran generously allowed me to inspect his private coin collection, and helped me to gain access to others. A. A. Bykov kindly sent photographs and measurements of coins in his care in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad. Tehran University, the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, and the United States Information Agency in Baghdad and Tehran also did much to facilitate my travels and studies.

I thank my colleagues at the University of California at Berkeley for their encouragement and for the opportunity to complete this work. W. M. Brinner, J. E. Bosson, and Abbas Zaryab have my special thanks for their assistance with problems in Arabic, Mongolian, and Persian, as does A. Morgan for her work on the maps.

Berkeley, November, 1964

J. M. Smith

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

The system of transliteration that I have followed is essentially that used by the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, except that I use 'ch' instead of 'č,' and 'j' instead of 'dj,' and 'z' instead of dh. This system, although it produces a somewhat Arabicized Persian, is adequate to the needs of a study in which few Turkish names are encountered. Those few Turkish names which would resist this kind of transliteration I have left in a modified modern Turkish form: e.g., Kopet Dāgh. Mongol names have been given in their Persianized form: e.g., Uljāytū.

In rendering Arabic genitive compounds, a literal form has been applied to book titles and to such titles of persons as had not degenerated into proper names. Assimilation of the consonant in the definite article is reproduced, where appropriate; inflection is not: e.g., *Tazkirat ash-Shu'arā*; *amīr al-ulūs*

Proper names in genitive compound form, however, have been treated as single words (as in modern Turkish) so as to approximate the spoken form of the names. A nominative inflection is used, and assimilation of the definite article to the appropriate consonants: e.g., 'Abdurrazzāk.

Textual materials have been given in translation for the most part. Unacknowledged translations are my own.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND BRIEF CITATIONS

ANS	= American Numismatic Society.
BM	= S. Lane-Poole, <i>Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum</i> .
DS	= Dawlatshāh, <i>Tazkirat ash-Shu‘arā</i> , E. G. Browne edition.
EI ¹ and EI ²	= <i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , first and second editions.
HA	= <i>Cinq Opuscles de Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū</i> , edited by F. Tauer
HA, <i>Zayl</i>	= Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, <i>Zayl-i Jāmi‘ at-Tawārīkh-i Rashīdī</i> , edited and translated by Khānbābā Bayānī.
JA	= <i>Journal Asiatique</i> .
JRAS	= <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> .
Juwaynī	= ‘Aṭā-Malik Juwaynī, <i>Tārīkh-i Jihān-Gushā</i> , J. A. Boyle translation.
Khw	= Khwāndamīr, <i>Ḥabīb as-Siyar</i> , section on Sarbadār history edited by B. Dorn.
LHP	= E. G. Browne, <i>A Literary History of Persia</i> .
Mir	= Mīrkhwānd, <i>Rawḍat aṣ-Ṣafā’</i> , Vol. V, Tehran, 1338–39/1960.
Mustawfī	= Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, <i>Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb</i> , G. Le Strange edition; text—I, and translation—II.
Petrushevskii	= I. P. Petrushevskii, “Dvizhenie serbedarov v Khorasane”.

- RNB* = *Revue de la Numismatique belge*.
- Shajara* = *Shajarat al-Atrāk*, abridged translation by Col. Miles.
- Storey = C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature; a Bio-Bibliographical Survey*.
- Zambaur (1905) = E. von Zambaur, "Contributions à la numismatique orientale".
- ZVO* = *Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniia Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva*.

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INTRODUCTION

The first Western scholar to pay particular attention to the Sarbadārs was A. J. Silvestre de Sacy, who translated Dawlatshāh's Sarbadār history from his *Tazkirat ash-Shu'arā* in 1798.¹ Then, in 1850, B. Dorn published the text and a translation of Khwāndamīr's Sarbadār history from the *Ḥabīb as-Siyar*, and added notes to the translation citing information (chiefly dates) at variance with that of Khwāndamīr, drawn from a number of Islamic histories.² Of these other histories cited by Dorn, only the *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī* of Faṣīḥ al-Khwāfi, Dawlatshāh's work, and the *Rawḍat aṣ-Ṣafā'* of Mirkhwānd are of earlier date than the *Ḥabīb*. V. Büchner's article "Serbedārs" and V. Minorsky's "Tughā Timūr" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*³ are based on the same sources that Dorn used,

¹ In *Notices et extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, IV (An 7/1798), pp. 251–262. A. J. Silvestre de Sacy's translation omits some material found in Browne's edition of Dawlatshāh, whether from inaccuracy or because of a defective MS, I cannot say.

² B. Dorn, *Die Geschichte Tabaristans und der Serbedare nach Chondemir* (St. Petersburg, 1850). The other sources cited by Dorn include:

a) Mirkhwānd (see p. 25, n. 2 below).

b) Dawlatshāh (Silvestre de Sacy's translation).

c) The *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī* of Faṣīḥuddīn Aḥmad al-Khwāfi, which ends with 845/1441–42. See C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature; a Bio-Bibliographical Survey* (London, 1927–58), pp. 90–91.

d) The *Lubb at-Tawārīkh* of Mir Yahyā al-Qazwīnī (died 962/1555) which ends with 948/1542. Extracts and a Latin translation have been published. See Storey, p. 111.

e) The *Nigāristān* of al-Ghaffārī, composed in 959/1552. Published in Bombay in 1829 and 1275/1895. See Storey, pp. 114, 1240.

f) al-Jannābī's *Al-'Aylam az-Zākhīr* . . . (author died 999/1590). See C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (2 vols. and 3 suppl. vols.; Berlin and Leyden, 1902–49), II, p. 300, and Suppl. II, pp. 411–412.

g) Sharaf-Khān Bitlisi's *Sharafnāma*, written in 1005/1596. There are several publications, including Cairo, 1931; and a translation by F. B. Charmoy, *Cheref-Nameh* (2 vols. in 4; St. Petersburg, 1868–75). See Storey, p. 366.

³ First edition. On the spelling of the name Taghāytmūr—Tughā Timūr, see below. Chapter 11.

except for the addition of Ibn Baṭūṭa and, in Minorsky's case, the *Shajarat al-Atrāk*.⁴

The only recent advance in the study of the Sarbadārs as regards the sources used has been made by I. P. Petrushevskii in his article, "Dvizhenie serbedarov v Khorasane", published in 1956.⁵ In it he has utilized not only the materials consulted by Dorn, *et al.*, but also a number of works not previously considered, including those of Faryūmadī, Samarḳandī, Mar'ashī, and Isfizārī.⁶ The most important new source employed by Petrushevskii is Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's *Zubdat at-Tawārīkh*, but unfortunately the MS he has followed is incomplete, and ends after 746/1345–46 and the section on the death of Ṭaghāytimūr. It thus lacks those passages on the middle period of the Sarbadārs' history, 745–759/1344–58, that are unique to the *Zubda*, and those sections on the reign of 'Alī Mu'ayyad that Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū culled from various parts of the *Majmū'a* for use in the *Zubda*.⁷ Thus, none of the Western studies of Sarbadār history has utilized Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's materials on the Sarbadārs in their entirety (these have become generally available in published form only since 1959) and none has relied on any but literary sources. I have attempted here to remedy these omissions.

Since my study of the Sarbadārs utilizes new sources, it has seemed to me best first to consider the sources themselves and then to recombine the information obtained directly or analytically from the sources into a narrative account of the history of the Sarbadārs. To begin with, I have tried to discover the basic works, insofar as we can see them, upon which later Muslim historians of the Sarbadārs have depended, to show how far these works depend upon one another and where they are complementary or discrepant, and to trace the manner in which they were

⁴ The *Shajarat al-Atrāk*, an anonymous history of Jingiz and his descendants to 831/1427–28. There is an abridged translation by Col. Miles, *The Shajrat ul Atrak* (London, 1838). See Storey, pp. 272, 1273. For Ibn Baṭūṭa, see below, p. 42, n. 58.

⁵ In *Uchenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniâ Akademii nauk SSSR*, XIV (1956), pp. 91–162. Petrushevskii's article, virtually unchanged, has been incorporated into his *Zemledelie i agrarnye otnosheniâ v Irane XIII–XIV vekov* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1960), pp. 424–466. My citations of Petrushevskii below refer to his 1956 article.

⁶ Except for Isfizārī, these authors are discussed and cited below.

Mu'innuddīn Isfizārī's History of Harāt, *Rawḍat al-jannāt fī awṣāf madīnat Harāt*, goes up to 875/1470–71. It has not been edited, although extracts have been translated by B. de Meynard in the *Journal Asiatique* (1860–62). See Storey, pp. 355 and 1296. Isfizārī's material on the Sarbadārs (*JA*, XVII [1861], pp. 506–507 and 515–516) seems to be a condensation of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's information as found in the *Majmū'a*, and probably reached Isfizārī through Samarḳandī's *Maṭla'*, from which an anecdote concerning Pir 'Alī's campaigns against the Sarbadārs is quoted (p. 516).

⁷ Petrushevskii, p. 107, n. 1.

used by the later historians. This assessment of the literary sources permits the beginning of a critical evaluation both of the sources in general, and of specific information contained in them.

I have next considered numismatic materials as a source, showing what these materials are, what information they give, and what import this information has, both as an aid to analysis of the literary sources and as an addition to the information given by those sources. In order better to demonstrate the manner in which numismatic data are related to, and reflect upon the literary sources, I have isolated the topics of chronology and religion for separate treatment, first using literary evidence alone, and then using both literary and numismatic evidence.

This study of the sources is, I submit, a necessary preliminary to the writing—or rewriting—of the Sarbadārs' history, if the recent proliferation of sources is to be coped with to advantage. This study is also necessarily separated from the narrative treatment of that history: I cannot see how the stylistic demands of source analysis can be brought into harmony with those of historical narrative. But an accompanying historical narrative is required. The source analysis depends upon a knowledge of Sarbadār history, and a reader cannot be asked constantly to refer to separate volumes for the necessary information. And furthermore, source analysis is only one part of the historiographic process. It enables the critical use of information asserted by the sources, and extracts further "latent" information from the sources. But the synthesis of these data in a narrative form produces still further knowledge—the whole is larger than the sum of its parts—without which our understanding would be incomplete. Moreover, in the absence of the narrative, the study is itself incomplete: the source analysis would provide specialists with considerable data, but would leave the Sarbadārs' history to their mental reconstruction; the general reader would be given nothing.

My history of the Sarbadārs, Part III of this study, attempts to show the Sarbadārs—to arrange the historical data about the Sarbadārs—against the background of, and in relation to their time and place, in a manner intelligible to general and specialist reader alike. In rendering a remote age accessible to today's reader I have attempted to avoid anachronism, yet tried to explain more thoroughly than did the Muslim historians. I have avoided the application (and denied the applicability) of hypotheses (such as those of class-war and racial or national conflict) whose elaboration is clearly modern and the supporting contemporary evidence for which is exiguous. On the other hand, where explanations turn on matters of common human experience—financial or political

advantage, for instance—or on known conditions and practices of the medieval Islamic world, I have not hesitated to base them on rather scanty evidence. They improve the story and will, I hope, challenge others to improve it still further.

Taken as a whole, this study of Sarbadār history is intended to show what the sources are (or were); to show how they may be used; and to show the story that may be told—the history that can be written—when they are thus used.

Of the literary sources cited above, the histories of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, Faṣīḥ, Mirkhwānd, and Khwāndamīr; the sections on the Sarbadārs and on Ṭaghāyīmūr in Dawlatshāh's work; and the relevant passages of Ibn Baṭūṭa, al-Ahrī, and Mar'ashī have been studied in preparing this work. I have not seen Samarkandī (which is in any case a copy of the *Zubda* of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū) or Faryūmadī's continuation of *Shabānkāra*'ī. I have omitted consideration of works composed after the early tenth/sixteenth century.

PART I

THE LITERARY SOURCES

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū

Most of the non-contemporary sources that are reasonably close to the Sarbadār period in time are well known. These include Dawlatshāh's *Tazkirat ash-Shu'arā*, which contains a section on Sarbadār history and notices concerning Ṭaghāytimūr;¹ Mirkhwānd's *Rawḍat aṣ-Ṣafā*;² and Khwāndamīr's *Ḥabīb as-Siyar*.³ But another less familiar source is also now available. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's works contain a Sarbadār history as well as materials on Ṭaghāytimūr, Amīr Walī, Amīr Arghūnshāh, and the Kurts of Harāt—all of whom were contemporaries of the Sarbadārs and participants in the history of Khurāsān during the Sarbadār period. These have recently been published in an edition by F. Tauer entitled

¹ Amīr Dawlatshāh's *Tazkirat ash-Shu'arā* (E. G. Browne ed.: *The Tadhkiratu' sh-Shu'arā of Dawlatshah*; London and Leyden, 1901) [hereinafter abbreviated DS], pp. 277–288 (Sarbadārs) and 236–238 (Ṭaghāytimūr). Dawlatshāh was a contemporary of Mirkhwānd and died in ca. 896/1490–91. See Storey, pp. 784–789 and E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (4 vols.; London, 1902–06 and Cambridge, 1928) [hereinafter abbreviated LHP], III, pp. 436–437.

² The *Rawḍat aṣ-Ṣafā* of Muḥammad b. Khāwāndshāh Mirkhwānd is a history in seven books covering the period from the pre-Islamic prophets to 929/1522–23. Only the last two books, vols. VI—Timūr and his successors to 873/1468–69, and VII—the life and reign of Sulṭān Ḥusayn (842–911/1438–1506), contain information obtained first-hand by Mirkhwānd. (Mirkhwānd died in 903/1498). See Storey, pp. 92 and 1236, and LHP, III, pp. 431–433. I have used the Tehran, 1338–39/1960 edition of Mirkhwānd; hereinafter the abbreviation Mir will refer to vol. V of that edition unless otherwise specified.

³ Ghiyāthuddin Khwāndamīr, author of the *Ḥabīb as-Siyar*, was Mirkhwānd's grandson. The *Ḥabīb*, which draws heavily on the *Rawḍa* (at least for the period under consideration here), was finished in 929/1523. See Storey, pp. 101 and 1237–1238, and LHP, III, p. 434 and IV, p. 445. My citations of Khwāndamīr refer to the edition of his Sarbadār history by B. Dorn (see above, p. 19, n. 2), and employ the abbreviation Khw.

Cinq Opuscles de Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū.⁴ As Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's Sarbadār and other materials constitute the earliest non-contemporary and the oldest complete and extant Sarbadār history, it may be useful to discuss these materials at greater length and to give a summary of them so that they may be compared more readily with the other histories.

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū deals with the Sarbadārs in three of his works:⁵ (1) the *Majmū'a-i Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū*, (2) his *Geography* (which includes some sections on Khurāsānian history), and (3) the *Majma' at-Tawārīkh*. The *Majmū'a-i Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū*, composed in 820/1417–18, is a compilation of the works of other historians, supplemented by chapters written by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū himself which are based on sources now lost and which fill the gaps between the borrowed histories. For the period under discussion here, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū took the *Jāmi' at-Tawārīkh* of Rashīduddīn and the *Zafarnāma* of Niẓāmuddīn Shāmī, and connected them with a chronicle treating the reigns of Ūljāytū, Abū Sa'id, and the later Ilkhānid and Jalāyir rulers up to 795/1392–93. The connecting chronicle is called also by the separate title *Zayl-i Jāmi' at-Tawārīkh-i Rashīdī*.⁶ Besides the *Zayl*, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū also composed supplementary chapters for the *Majmū'a* on the local dynasties and independent rulers that appeared in the outlying provinces of the crumbling Ilkhānid empire: on the Kurts in Harāt; on Ṭaghāytmūr, Amīr Walī, the Sarbadārs, and Amīr Arghūnshāh in Khurāsān and Māzandarān; and on the Muẓaffarids in Fārs.⁷

The chapter on the Sarbadārs in the *Majmū'a-i Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū* is entitled "Tārīkh-i Umarā-i Sarbadāriyya wa 'Aqibat-i Ishān", and is twelve pages long in Tauer's printed text.⁸ It is concerned almost entirely with the early period of the Sarbadārs' history. Ten and a half pages are devoted to the ten or so years before 745/1344–35, and one and a half to the subsequent forty-odd. Within the early period, the main subject

⁴ (Prague: Supplements to the *Archiv Orientální*; V, 1959). Tauer's book, when cited, is hereinafter abbreviated HA in the footnotes.

⁵ My description of the organization of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's works is largely based on F. Tauer's study in "Vorbericht über die Edition des Zafarnāma von Niẓām Šāmī und der wichtigsten Teile der Geschichtswerke Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's", *Archiv Orientální* (1932), pp. 250–256.

⁶ An edition of the *Zayl* has been published by Khānbābā Bayānī (I—text; Tehran, 1317/1938. II—[partial] trans. and notes; Paris, 1936), and Tauer has provided critical notes to this edition in a series of articles entitled "Le Zayl-i Ğami'u-t-tawārīḥ-i Rašīdī de Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū et son édition par K. Bayani" in *Archiv Orientální* (1952–55). See Storey, pp. 86–89, and 1235–1236.

⁷ These supplementary chapters are found in HA, except for the one on the Muẓaffarids, the edition of which by Tauer is still in progress.

⁸ HA, text, pp. 15–26: تاریخ امرای سربداریه و عاقبت ایشان.

is the activity of the religious leaders, Shaykh Khalifa and Shaykh Hasan Jūrī, whose dervish following added an unusual element to the Sarbadār state.

In summary, pages 15, 16, and part of 17 in Tauer's text treat the career of Shaykh Khalifa, originator of the doctrine that was to inspire the dervish element among the Sarbadārs; his conversion of Shaykh Hasan Jūrī, creator of a covert religious organization based on Shaykh Khalifa's doctrines, and later co-leader of the Sarbadārs; the murder of Shaykh Khalifa; and the travels, teaching, and eventual arrest and imprisonment of Shaykh Hasan. On part of page 17 and pages 18–19 the origin and rise of the Sarbadārs as rebels against the local government is discussed: the rebellion of 'Abdurrazzāk and the seizure of Sabzawār; 'Abdurrazzāk's quarrel with, and murder by his brother, Mas'ūd; the liberation of Shaykh Hasan by Mas'ūd; and the merger of Shaykh Hasan's religious organization with the Sarbadār rebels, and their further successes.

On page 19 there is cited an appeal by Muḥammad Bik⁹ b. Arghūnshāh to Shaykh Hasan asking him, as a man of religion and peace, to dissociate himself from the Sarbadārs' revolt and help reunify the country. There follows (on pages 20–23) what purports to be the text of Shaykh Hasan's letter in reply to Muḥammad Bik. Page 24 deals with the war between the Sarbadārs and Taghāytmūr's forces under 'Alī Kāwun, and the defeat and death of 'Alī; page 25 recounts the unsuccessful Sarbadār campaign against Harāt, the death of Shaykh Hasan Jūrī and the resultant rupture between Mas'ūd and Shaykh Hasan's dervish followers, the death of Mas'ūd and accession of Yaḥyā Karāwī (*sic*), and the assassination of Taghāytmūr; on page 26 there is a hasty (and inaccurate) summary of the successive reigns of Hasan Dāmghānī, Ḥaydar Kaṣṣāb, and 'Alī Mu'ayyad (given thus out of order by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū), and of 'Alī's relations with Tīmūr.

The main part of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's chapter on the Sarbadārs in the *Majmū'a*, therefore, is the section dealing with the lives of Shaykh Khalifa and Shaykh Hasan. Much of the material on pages 15–17 is repeated in (or from) the "letter" on pages 20–23. The chapter as a whole is useful only for its coverage of the origins of the Sarbadārs and their activities to 745/1344–45. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū gives little information in it for the period after 745/1344–45, and what he does give is full of errors.

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's short (just over three pages in Tauer's text) chapter of the *Majmū'a* entitled "Pādishāhī-i Taghāytmūr" resembles the chap-

⁹ For the spelling 'Bik', see below, Chapter 11.

ter on the Sarbadārs in that it covers only a brief period and must have been based on some very limited source. The chapter describes the early reign of Ṭaghāytmūr in an incomplete and inaccurate manner (on page 5 and the first half of page 6 of Tauer's text), and then proceeds, skipping over a decade, to a circumstantial description of the assassination of Ṭaghāytmūr (second half of page 6 and pages 7 and 8).

The late period of the Sarbadārs' history—the reign of 'Alī Mu'ayyad—is also considered by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū in the *Majmū'a*, but as part of the history of Amīr Walī and of the Kurts of Harāt. The chapter of the *Majmū'a* on Amīr Walī contains some discussion of the Sarbadārs' activities in Māzandarān during the late 750's/1350's and early 760's/1360's when Walī was attempting to take control of that region, and also mentions that Walī restored 'Alī Mu'ayyad to the rule of Sabzawār in 782/1380–81.¹⁰ The chapter on the Kurts speaks of Malik Pīr 'Alī's campaigns against Nīshāpūr in the 770's/1370's, and describes the Shī'i practices of 'Alī Mu'ayyad to some extent so as to explain Pīr 'Alī's contention that his attack was a Holy War. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū also relates how Pīr 'Alī's governor of Nīshāpūr, Iskandar, joined Dervish Ruknuddīn in ousting 'Alī Mu'ayyad from Sabzawār, and how their subsequent attempt to rule independently in Khurāsān was defeated by the intervention of Pīr 'Alī and Amīr Walī.¹¹ Except for the account of Sarbadār Shī'i ceremonies, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū gives almost no information on the Sarbadārs' internal affairs during 'Alī Mu'ayyad's reign. These same materials, almost unchanged, were reused by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū in the *Geography* and the *Zubda*.¹²

The section on Khurāsānian history in Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's *Geography*, composed in 823/1420, also treats Ṭaghāytmūr, the Sarbadārs, and the Kurts. The part on Ṭaghāytmūr has been considerably improved over the corresponding passage in the *Majmū'a* by the incorporation of information on Ṭaghāytmūr taken from the *Zayl*. The treatment of the Sarbadārs in the *Geography* is little changed from that in the *Majmū'a*, however.

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's *Majma' at-Tawārīkh*, composed in 830/1426–27, is in four volumes, and Volume IV, separately entitled *Zubdat at-Tawārīkh*, is divided into two parts: Part 1 covers the years 736–807/1335–1404, and Part 2, 807–830/1405–27. For Part 1 of the *Zubda*,¹³ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū

¹⁰ HA, text, pp. 9–11 and 13.

¹¹ HA, text, pp. 52–58.

¹² HA, notes, pp. XIII–XIV.

¹³ The *Zubda* exists only in MSS. The best-known of these is Fātiḥ 4371/1. Bayānī, *Zayl*, text, intro., mentions two more that are in the Kutubkhāna-i Millī-i Malik in